Summer 1976

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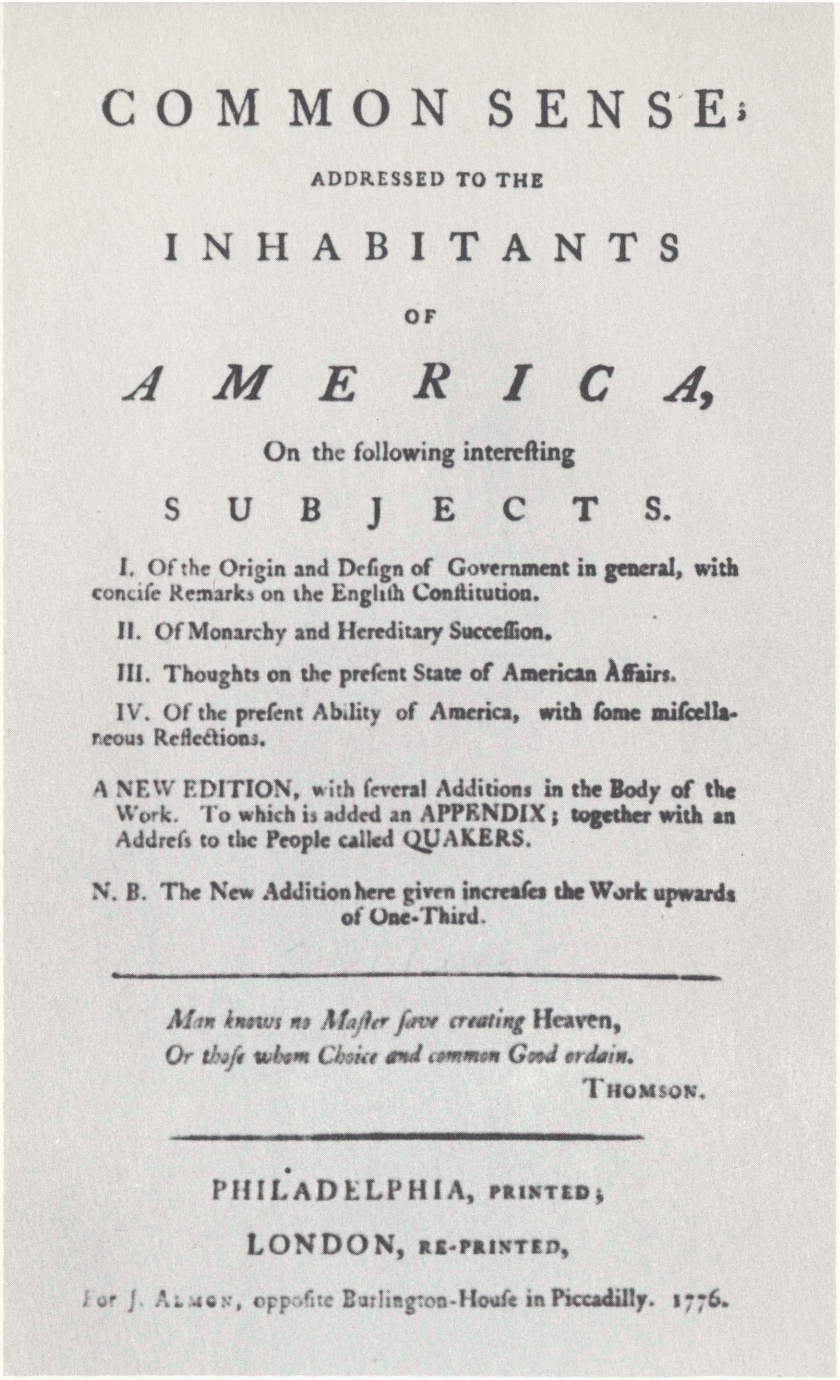

COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

On the following intereſting

SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Deſign of Government in general, with conciſe Remarks on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion.

III. Thoughts on the preſent State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the preſent Ability of America, with ſome miſcellaneous Reflections.

A NEW EDITION, with ſeveral Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an APPENDIX; together with an Addreſs to the People called QUAKERS.

N. B. The New Addition here given increaſes the Work upwards of One-Third.

Man knows no Maſter ſave creating Heaven,
Or thoſe whom Choice and common Good ordain.

THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED;

LONDON, RE-PRINTED,

For J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe in Piccadilly. 1776.

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THE COURIER

BICENTENNIAL ISSUE

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES VOLUME XIII, NUMBER 2

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SUMMER 1976

Some Observations on the Loyalist Experience: 1770-1780

by Susan Abadessa

Two hundred years after the American Revolution, the conflict is still being represented for the most part as a war between the people of the united colonies and the government of England. The Colonists who were slow to join the revolutionary cause are still regarded by many as traitors. Whether principle or personal gain led so many to remain loyal to England makes no more difference today than it did then. The English patriots among the colonists paid a hard price for their loyalty to the wrong side.

A collection of diaries and letters of the period has been given to the Syracuse University Libraries by Dr. and Mrs. Lyman J. Spire. Many of them, written by American Loyalists, describe their feelings about the revolution and their treatment at the hands of the American revolutionaries. As the conflict began, there were those who dared to raise their voices against the political fervor for independence. For their opinions and actions some, like Judge John Chandler of Worcester, Massachusetts, were deprived of their native land, their family life, their official prominence, the use of their fortunes, and the tranquility of their old age.[1]

Many historians have searched for socio-economic, religious, and political reasons to explain why some men became or remained loyal to King George. In general it is agreed that the Loyalists or Tories were comprised of the following groups: royal officials; landed proprietors; the wealthy commercial classes; the professional classes; colonial politicians; conservative farmers; and members of cultural minorities. In July, 1783, the British Parliament developed its own definition of a Loyalist so that there was a uniform procedure for deciding who should receive pension allotments.[2]

Ms. Abadessa is a recent graduate of the School of Information Studies, Syracuse University. This piece was written especially for *The Courier.*

[1]Chandler Bullock, *The Loyalist Side of the American Revolution, as Seen by a Worcester Loyalist, Judge John Chandler* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Worcester Fire Society, 1925) [p. 2]

[2]Claude Halstead Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York: Peter Smith, 1929) p. 301.

In their attempts to treat the Loyalists as a group, both American historians and the patriots of the time failed to remember that the Loyalists were not traitors, but were people who, until the time of the Revolution, were respected and loved friends, neighbors, and compatriots.

By a then currently popular (patriotic) definition: "A Tory is a thing whose head is in England and its body in America and its neck ought to be stretched."[3] Despite the underlying threat of such a definition, more people were felt to be Loyalists than is generally realized. The Loyalist Reverend Jonathan Boucher, Rector of Annapolis, wrote in his autobiography:

> . . .and it is a certain fact, of the truth, which I at least am thoroughly convinced that nine out of ten of the people of America, properly so called, were adverse to the revolt. But how shall a historian prove so extraordinary a fact, or expect to gain credit if he should prove it?[4]

John Adams also had something to say on the subject:

> New York and Pennsylvania were so nearly divided—if indeed their propensity was not against independence—that if New England on the one side and Virginia on the other had not kept them in awe, they would have joined the British.[5]

This statement can be substantiated by the fact that the New York Assembly under the influence of the Loyalists refused to send a delegation to the Second Continental Congress.

Despite the large numbers of Loyalists, they never commanded a broad base of support and thus were subject to much harassment by the patriots. Peter Oliver, the Chief Justice for the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and a Loyalist, remarked:

> The foundations of Government were subverted and every Loyalist was obliged to submit or to be swept away by the Torrent. Protection was not afforded to them; this rendered their situation most disagreeable. Some indeed dared to say that their Souls were their own but no one could call his Body his own; for that was at the mercy of the Mob. . . .[6]

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[3]*Ibid.*, p. 192.

[4]Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist,* 1738-89, *Being an Autobiography of the Revd. Jonathan Boucher, Rector of Annapolis in Maryland and Afterwards Vicar of Epsom,* Surrey, England (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925) p. 121.

[5]John Adams, *Works,* Vol. X, p. 63 quoted in Van Tyne, *The Loyalists,* p. 101-102.

[6]Peter Oliver, *Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion: A Tory View* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1961) p. 97.

Anne Hulton, sister to Henry Hulton, one of the British commissioners of customs at Boston, noted after the Boston Tea Party:

> Those who are well disposed toward Government (more from interest than principle it's to be feared as there are few willing to acknowledge the Authority of Parliament) are termed Tories, they daily increase and have made some efforts to take the power out of the Patriots but they are intimidated and overpowered by Numbers, and the Arts, and Machinations of the Leader.[7]

An example of just what the mob was likely to inflict on a Loyalist can be seen from this passage of Frank Moore's, *Diary of the American Revolution,* volume one, page 26:

> Dr. Clarke was seized and carried upon a rail about the parish under which cruelty he several times fainted. When dismissed by his tormentors and examined by Dr. Tidmarsh he was found to be injured in a manner unfit for description.[8]

While mob violence existed in many places, the Sons of Liberty, or the Sons of Licentiousness as they were sometimes called, and the violence they precipitated became particularly odious in Loyalists' eyes. When social or political pressure was insufficient to persuade a Loyalist of the error of his ways, he was often visited by the Sons of Liberty. Anne Hulton's observations are taken from a series of letters written to Mrs. Adam Lightbody, wife of a merchant in Liverpool, England, during Miss Hulton's stay in America. From one such letter one gets this account:

> . . .mobs. . .act from principle and under countenance no person daring or willing to suppress their outrages or to punish the most notorious offenses for any crimes whatever, These Sons of Violence after attacking Houses, breaking Windows, beating, Stoning, and bruising several Gentlemen belonging to the Customs, [using] the Collector mortally and burning his boat.... This is a specimen of the Sons of Liberty. . . .[9]

Furthermore:

> . . .the attacks were always in the dark, several hundred against one man and there's great Reason to believe that the lives of some in particular were aimed at.[10]

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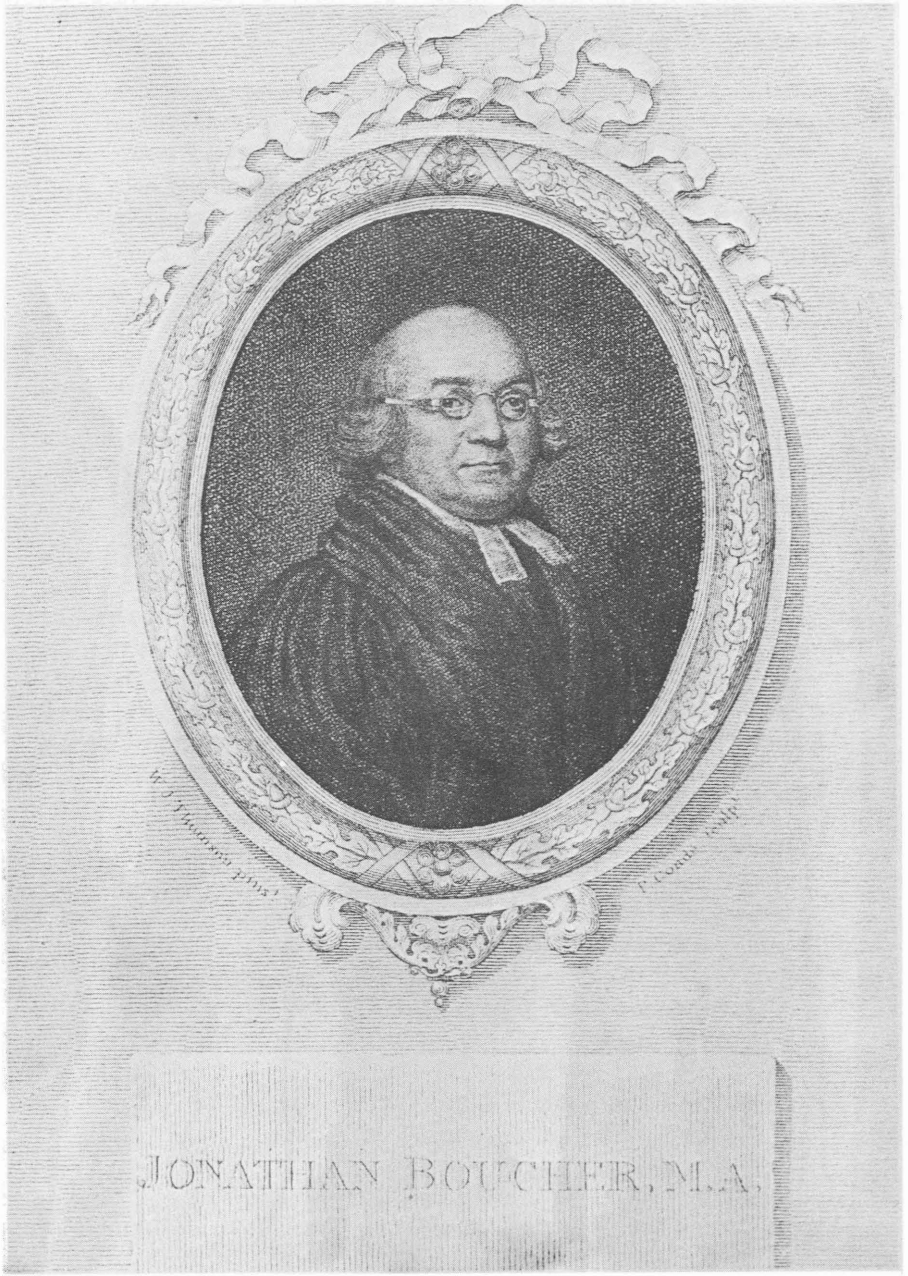
[7]Ann Hulton, *Letters of a Loyalist Lady, Being the Letters of Ann Hulton, Sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1776* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927) p. 74.

[8]Quoted in James Talman, *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1946) p. xxxii-xxxiii.

[9]Hulton, *Letters,* p. 11-12.

[10]*Ibid.,* p. 13.



JONATHAN BOUCHER
Frontispiece from his *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789.* New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.

Some men chose to meet violence in their own manner, one of these was Jonathan Boucher, the Rector of Annapolis quoted above:

> And for more than six months I preached, when I did preach, with a pair of loaded pistols lying on the cushion; having given notice that if any man or body of men, could possibly be so lost to all sense of decency and propriety as to attempt really to do what had been long threatened, that is to drag me out of my pulpit, I should think myself justified before God and men in repelling violence by violence.[11]

Another common practice to which the Loyalists were exposed was tarring and feathering. Peter Oliver tells us that this invention was conceived in March of 1770:

> The town of Salem, about twenty miles from Boston hath the Honor of this Invention as well as that of Witchcraft in the Year 1692 when many innocent Persons suffered death by Judicial process[12]. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> In the year 1772 they continued their laudable custom of Tar and Feathers, even the fair Sex threw off their Delicacy, and adopted this new Fashion. . .one of those Ladys of Fashion was so complaisant, as to throw her Pillows out of the Window; as the Mob passed by with their Criminal, in order to help forward the Diversion.[13]

Many of the Loyalists condemned the Stamp Act and other British measures as heartily as the Whigs, but failed to see the need to break completely with Great Britain. After all Great Britain was the:

> . . .Parent who protected them (upon their most earnest Entreaties and humble Solicitations) against the Ravages of their Enemies, ... Great Britain (the parent state) had given her (America) millions in Bounties, to encourage the Growth and Produce of her Plantations, ...[14]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The Issue hath been that a fine Country, like the Land of Canaan, flowing with Milk and Honey, is turned into a dreary Wilderness enstamped withe the Vestiges of War, Famine, &. Pestilence.[15]

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[11]Boucher, *Reminiscences,* p. 113.

[12]Oliver, *Origin & Progress,* p. 94.

[13]*Ibid.,* p. 97.

[14]*Ibid.,* p. 145.

[15]*Ibid.,* p. 149.

Some felt as did Ann Hulton that the general population was being duped by the press and the clergy:

> The poison of disaffection has been infused and spread by inflammatory writers over the Continent. . .The credulity of the common people here is imposed on by a number of Lies to irritate and inflame them[16]. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Ministers are very flaming Preachers, that is they take occasion to inflame the People, both by their Sermons and Prayers against Government and all belonging to it. . . .[17]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The Minister from the Pulpit and the Committee of Corruption by writing inflame the Minds of the ignorant Country People.[18]

The Loyalists were in general agreement that all natural laws of decency and control had broken down. They also tended to see their former friends and neighbors in terms of stereotypes. Their fellow patriots were an: "incensed soldiery, a people licentious and enthusiastic. . .mad and broken loose from all restraints of law or religion."[19] Ann Hulton felt that only her fellow Loyalists had kept any sense of proportion:

> . . .most of the better sort of People that we've conversed with seem sensible of the great want of a reform, or alteration in the Constitution of Government here, for certainly the Tyranny of the Multitude is the most Arbitrary & oppressive; there's no justice to be obtained in any case, & many Persons awed by the people, are obliged to court Popularity for their own Security, this is only to be done by opposing Government at home. If the People took a dislike to any One they would make nothing of pulling down their houses. . . .[20]

It was, perhaps, the role of the clergy in condoning and encouraging the revolution that most bothered the Loyalists:

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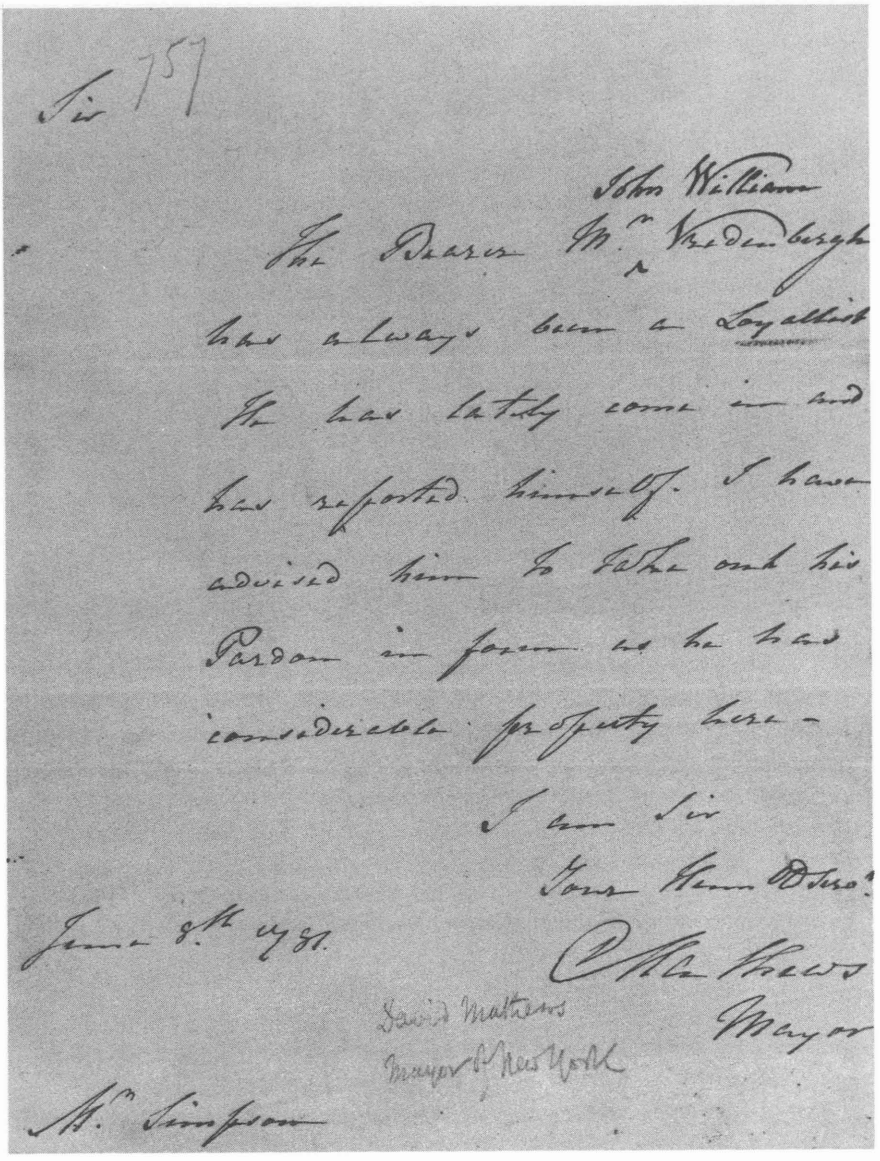
[16]Hulton, *Letters,* p. 13.

[17]*Ibid.,* p. 39.

[18]*Ibid.,* p. 74.

[19]Samuel Curwen, *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty,* etc. (New York: C. S. Francis, 1842) p. 4.

[20]Hulton, *Letters,* p. 16.


Sir 757

John William

The Bearer Mr. Vredenbergh

has always been a Loyalist

He has lately come in and

has reported himself. I have

advised him to take out his

Pardon in form as he has

considerable property here -

I am Sir

Your Hum. Servt.

June 8th 1781.

David Matthews

Mayor

David Matthews
Mayor of New York

Mr. Simpson

CERTIFICATE OF LOYALTY TO KING GEORGE III
Signed by David Matthews, Mayor of New York,
for John W. Vredenberg, June 8, 1781. Ms. in Spire
Collection, George Arents Research Library for Special
Collections, Syracuse University

> Those people who hear and read any out of the great number of Puritan sermons that were printed as well as preached will cease to wonder that so many people were worked into such a frenzy...[21]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> One of those Preachers, with the Reputation of Learning preaching upon the sixth Commandment to his large Parish declared to them that it was no sin to kill the Tories.[22]

With the inception of hostilities and the ultimate declaration of war the Loyalists were now in the untenable position of being treasonous, and popular sentiment became even more enraged by their existence: "No Tory dared to offer his neighbor a drink of tea unless he was absolutely sure of the neighbor's political sentiment."[23] Even General Washington, although concerned with more weighty problems, had occasion to remark on the Loyalists:

> "One or two have done," commented Washington, "what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide." With little commiseration, he added. "By all accounts there never existed a more miserable set of beings, than those wretched creatures are now."[24]

The threat of the Loyalists was handled differently by the respective colonial communities. In many places Loyalists fled to areas of known Loyalist sympathy where they were later contained by the patriots, as was done in Queens County, New York. Some Loyalists were confined to their yards and homes. In some instances Loyalists were relocated by the militia and regular army. New York and New Jersey sent many "dangerous" Loyalists to Connecticut. By 1778 test laws were established to ensure a pledge of loyalty to the new American government and its laws. Failure to comply could result in imprisonment, confiscation of property and banishment, with the added threat of death if one dared to return.

To avoid some of this treatment many Loyalists fled to England. Jonathan Boucher became an exile: "[It was]...still plain that to stay would too probably be equally fatal to my property, and my life and undoubtedly to my peace."[25] Samuel Curwen, judge of the Admiralty, left because he was stripped of: "...personal security and those rights by the laws of God I ought to have enjoyed undisturbed there."[26]

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[21]Boucher, *Reminiscences,* p. 118.

[22]Oliver, *Origin & Progress,* p. 105.

[23]Van Tyne, *The Loyalists,* p. 17.

[24]Washington, *Letters,* March 31, 1776, in Van Tyne, *The Loyalists,* p. 56-57.

[25]Boucher, *Reminiscences,* p. 124.

[26]Curwen, *Journal,* p. 4.

Despite the treatment these men had received and their sympathy for the political rights of George III, in their hearts loyalty to America still existed. Samuel Curwen spent most of his exile deeply concerned for the plight of his country, America:

> For my native country, I feel filial fondness, her follies, I lament, her misfortunes I pity; her good I ardently wish, and to be restored to her embrace is the warmest of my desires.[27]

Jonathan Boucher remarked, as his departure from Maryland drew near, that the amount of activity necessary to prepare for his departure:

> . . .prevented my feeling so much pain as if I had the leisure to think of it I certainly should have felt on this leaving a country, where now almost all my attachments were, to go to another now become foreign to me, where I had no friends; knew not how to live for even the six months I expected to be absent.[28]

Once fighting broke out, not all Loyalists felt as did Peter Oliver after the loss of British soldiers at Bunker hill. He commented that here were a:

> . . .Disproportion of heroick Officiers than perhaps ever fell in one Battle; owing to that Savage way of fighting, not in open field, but by aiming at their Objects from Houses and behind Walls & Hedges.[29]

In England, Samuel Curwen, on hearing such attacks on the American soldiers, remarked:

> It is no proof of want of bravery in the Americans not to face the regulars, many good reasons may be assigned to justify their conduct and though it be grounds of much reproach here, I see in it the effect of sound judgement–that little dependency can be placed on newly raised troops is well known the world over.[30]

Ann Hulton's brother, perhaps because he was in fact British had this to say about the fighting:

> In this [British] army are many of noble family, many respectable virtuous and amiable characters, and it grieves one that gentlemen, brave British soldiers should fall by the hands of such despicable wretches as compose the bandits of this country; amongst whom there is no one that has the least pretension to be called a gentlemen.[31]

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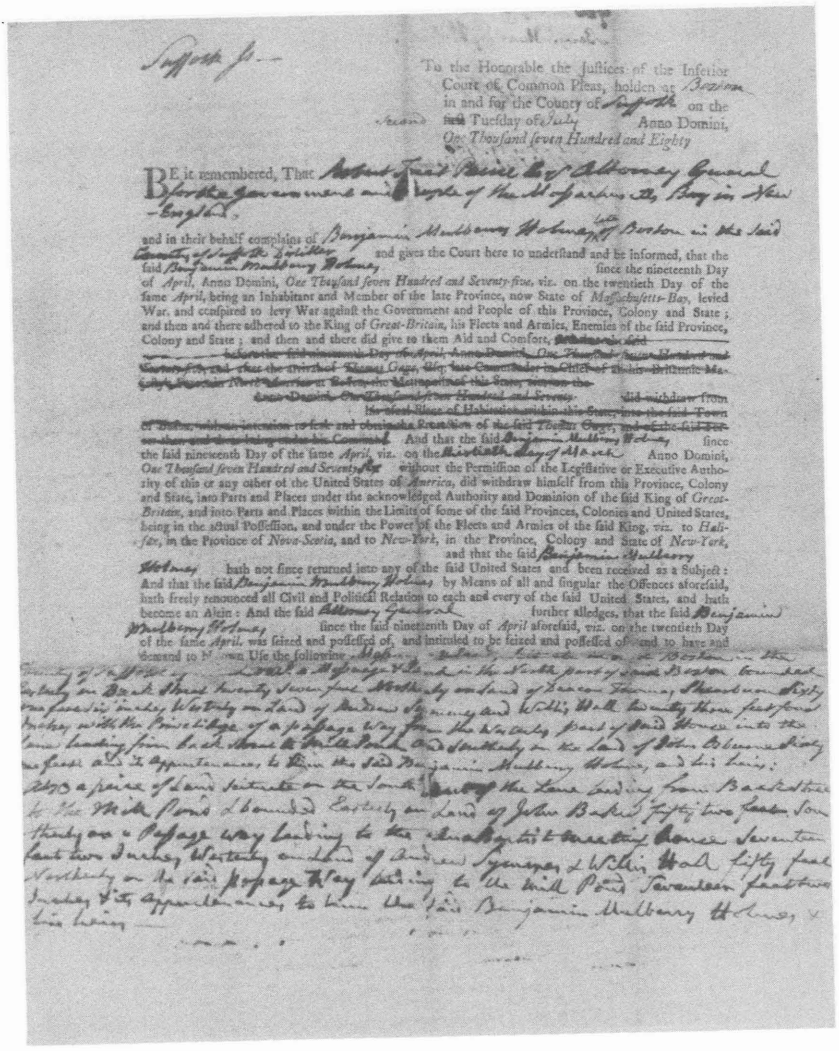
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[28] Boucher, *Reminiscences,* p. 127.

[29] Oliver, *Origin & Progress,* p. 124.

[30] Curwen, *Journal,* p. 91.

[31] Hulton, *Letters,* p. 99.



Section of a Confiscation Order signed by Robert Treat Paine,
Attorney General, State of Massachusetts Bay,
against Benjamin M. Holmes, July 2, 1780. Ms. in the Spire Collection,
George Arents Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University.

Those Loyalists in exile often prayed for the destruction of certain provinces as long as their home provinces were not among them; for example Thomas Hutchinson feared for the destruction of Boston, but prayed for the humbling of Philadelphia.[32]

Yet the patriots were not always just reacting hysterically to the threat of Loyalist subversion. Loyalist companies were formed under General Howe. The Loyal American Associates, as they were called were given a commission to make war in armed bands under their own officers. They maintained the right to keep their own plunder and to deal with the rebel patriots as they had treated captured Loyalists. The plots of Benedict Arnold and Tarelton and the Tory Legion (to capture Thomas Jefferson in his house) are notorious. Other Loyalists forces included the Royal Greens and the British Loyal Rangers. Even though the plots of the Loyalists troops eventually resulted in failure the rumors of plots persisted and were even heard as far as England:

> It is said that there is a large party in South Carolina, Maryland, Connecticut, and New Hampshire in opposition; these will assist the king's troops when they are well warmed in dispute with their brethern.[33]

In New York one so-called plot was uncovered which was reportedly a:

> . . .plan for aiding King's troops on arrival, break down King's Bridge, blow up the magazine, spike the guns and massacre all the field officers. Washington was to be killed or delivered up to the enemy.[34]

While one man for whom the plot is named, Hickey, was hanged for his alleged part in the plot and another man, David, imprisoned, the evidence was so dubious and the trial so secretive it caused David Matthews, mayor of New York, to state:

> . . .the people you have thrown into prison were guilty of no other misdeeds than meeting in a social manner and expressing their wishes for the restoration of the old constitution. . . .[they] declared their opinions freely during the openess of sociability and wine.[35]

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[32]William Nelson, *The American Tory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) p. 167.

[33]Curwen, *Journal,* p. 71.

[34]*Minutes of a Conspiracy Against the Liberties of America* (Philadelphia: J. Campbell, 1865), p. vi.

[35]*Ibid.,* p. 28.

The loyalists had suffered much at the hands of the patriots, but with the British they were scarcely treated better. In England, along with homesickness, they endured the loss of their occupations, the loss of social standing if not social ostracism, and a general apathy and complacency toward the Revolution. The English were quite undiplomatic in their speech about the Americans, or so it seemed to Samuel Curwen:

> Lord Howe speakes of the Yankees, as he is pleased to call them, in the most contemptuous terms as cowards, poltroons, cruel and possessing every bad quality the depraved heart can be cursed with. . . . It is my earnest wish the despised Americans may convince these conceited islanders, that without regular standing armies our continent can furnish brave soldiers and judicious and expert commanders. . . . It piques my pride, I confess, to hear us called "our colonies, our plantations" in such terms and with such airs as if our property and persons were absolutely theirs like the "villains" and their cottages in the old feudal system.[36]

In America much the same attitude was expressed. The British officers and soldiers preserved a cold tolerance of the Loyalists and never gave them a warm and sincere reception. The Loyalists as well as the patriots were "our" colonists, not equals. The British neither trusted nor respected the Loyalists. While about 50,000 Loyalists were drawn into the service of Great Britain, they performed largely menial tasks. Many Loyalists were plundered by British soldiers while they held certificates of protection in their hands.[37]

Perhaps because the Loyalists were treated with such disdain they in turn felt free to criticize the manner in which the British were waging the war. Peter Oliver had these observations on the lack of initiative the British showed by not using their vessels in Boston harbor to block the retreat of the patriot soldiers at Bunker Hill:

> But it seems at this time and during a great part of this american Contest, the King's Ships were looked upon in too sacred a Light to be destroyed by anything except by Storms, Rocks, and Worms.[38]

In fact Oliver blamed the whole defeat of the British cause on those elements in Britain who were sympathetic to the patriots:

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[36]Curwen, *Journal,* p. 90.

[37]Van Tyne, *The Loyalists,* p. 246-7.

[38]Oliver, *Origin & Progress,* p. 125.

> Rebellion never would have happened for there were Loyalists among them sufficient in Number, Sense, & Virtue who could have banked out the Innundation, but a most detestable Opposition offered and lent their Aid to encourage it.[39]

After hostilities had ended, some, like Alexander Hamilton, suggested leniency for the Loyalists; but the Loyalists' property was seized as contraband of war and sold. Loyalists in the service of Britain were treated as criminals and thrown into common prisons – even into the horrendous Simsbury mines in Connecticut (which consisted of a platform built in a shaft seventy-five feet underground). Some Loyalists were hanged for treason. Others were whipped, branded, had their ears cropped, or were exposed in the pillory. All were deprived of the right to vote. The Loyalists in Delaware were not allowed to become full citizens again. Many who wished to escape this harsh treatment accepted the offers of British protection in Canada.

The history of Isaac Wilkins serves as an example of the life of a Loyalist during the Revolution. Isaac Wilkins was a representative of the borough town of Westchester in the General Assembly of the province of New York. He was forced to flee from the popular fury and take refuge in England in the spring of 1775. In 1776 he returned with General Howe and landed with him on Long Island. He was driven from his farm and estate in Westchester by the rebel army who plundered his farm and house. By September 1, 1776 he had hired a house on Long Island, although he was deeply in debt because of loss of income from his farm which had been rented out by an act of the Legislature of New York. He was subsequently able to receive a pension of 200 pounds a year from the Lords of Treasury, but, after the war, was again forced to flee: this time to Nova Scotia.[40]

The Loyalist cause ultimately ended in failure and with it any hope for the continuance of the lives they had known before the Revolution. Perhaps their innate conservatism did not allow them to fully realize the threat of revolution and the seriousness of their neighbors. Perhaps they never really could grasp the basic problem of constitutional reform. They never developed alternatives to rebellion or united in a strong front or developed a national leadership. The Loyalists were individuals, each with his own reactions and hopes and fears, united only by their beliefs and their unjust treatment at the hands of the patriots. They were persecuted and harassed by former neighbors, forced to flee from their homes and families. They were belittled and ridiculed by those very people to whom they remained loyal. But they did remain loyal to principle despite the hardships they suffered at both hands. Perhaps the Loyalists should be seen as the first in a long line of Americans who suffered for a principle that was not held to be popular at the time.

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[40] Isaac Wilkins, *My Services and Losses in Aid of the King's Cause During the American Revolution* (Brooklyn: Historical Printing Club, 1890)

A List of Materials on the American Loyalists from the Spire Collection George Arents Research Library for Special Collections Syracuse University

This bibliography includes both materials with which the author worked directly and other materials relevant to the topic. The list is not complete, but is representative of the materials in the collection. There are numerous manuscripts in the Spire collection, some of which have been used to illustrate this article. Because some items, such as letters from the noted Loyalists Lord Sterling and Sir John Johnson, are unprocessed, the compiler did not include them in the list but felt they should be mentioned. This essay and list is meant to serve as an introduction to a large collection of American Revolutionary Period materials.

An asterisk indicates those items referred to in the footnotes.

*Boucher, Jonathan. *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1783-1789, Being the Autobiography of the Revd. Jonathan Boucher, Rector of Annapolis in Maryland and Afterwards Vicar of Epsom, Surrey, England.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925.

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*Jones, Edward Alfred. *The Loyalists of Massachusetts, Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims with 63 Portraits in Photogravure.* London: The Saint Catherine Press, 1930.

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Ideological Conflicts in Early American Books

by Clarence H. Faust

The following is an address given by Dr. Clarence H. Faust at the 1957 Syracuse University Scholastic Achievement Dinner. Almost twenty years later, when we are celebrating the bicentennial anniversary of our country, it seems important to review the conflicts inherent in the American expression of democracy which are so clearly outlined by the late Dr. Faust.

"This address was first printed in 1958 as a souvenir book by the Syracuse University Press, which has courteously granted permission to reprint it here. Then Chancellor of Syracuse University William P. Tolley wrote in his introduction to that booklet:

"Dr. Faust is a gifted teacher who for many years added lustre to the Department of English at the University of Chicago. He is also a skillful administrator with long experience as Dean of the College and Dean of the Graduate School of Library Science at the University of Chicago; and later as Director of Libraries, Dean of Humanities and Sciences and Acting President at Stanford University. He was elected President of the Fund for the Advancement of Education in 1951, and [was, for a time,] Vice President of the Ford Foundation. A deep concern for problems of higher education and imaginative leadership in educational administration have not lessened his interest in more specialized studies. His volume, with Professor [Thomas E.] Johnson, on Jonathan Edwards is still the most useful annotated collection of the works of that important figure. In 1954 he published a major contribution to American Studies, The Decline of Puritanism."

IT IS A VERY GREAT pleasure to be present at the significant cluster of events at Syracuse University during these two days—the dedication of a great collection of books, the Annual Scholastic Achievement Dinner, and the opening of the new offices of the University Press. These events, taken together, have a striking symbolic significance. They symbolize the essence of the University, the fact that its activities center in, revolve around, and exist for the life of the mind. The intellectual life of the University has three aspects—the inheritance of ideas, the study and discussion of them, and their dissemination. Thus the University's collection of books, the intellectual work of its faculty and students, and publication are the chief facets of its central concern with knowledge.

The critical element in this triad is, of course, the activities of scholars and students—the work in libraries, classrooms, and laboratories where ideas are examined, discussed, and clarified. The very life of a university is threatened by anything which checks the full and free and open and constant discussion and examination of ideas. In our day, universities stand in some danger—and so consequently does the society universities serve—that as a result of external pressures or of internal loss of confidence freedom of discussion will decline. The threat is, of course, not new to this generation, and perhaps we shall understand it more fully and have better insights about how to deal with it if we trace the historical roots of the current anti-intellectualism to the period of our national birth, the eighteenth century.

The ideas and institutions of the eighteenth century have inevitably persisted, however modified in form, into the twentieth.

There is much to be said for the analogy on which Edmund Burke insisted in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, namely, that we inherit our political principles and institutions from our forebears as we receive from them our lives and our property. One side of this inheritance, the great democratic institutions and ideas which have come down to us from our eighteenth-century forefathers, is frequently stressed. Its other side, especially certain conflicts of theory which still trouble us, is much less often, in fact very rarely, considered.

It is perfectly clear that we owe the form of government under which we live and the freedoms we enjoy as a people to the wise and courageous men who conceived and brought forth upon this continent a new nation, under a new form of government, a political society without a succession of crowned monarchs or a hereditary aristocracy—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And we inherited from the Founding Fathers much more than a machinery of government. We are indebted to them for a clear formulation of the principles on which such a government could be justified and its scope and purposes determined.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," wrote the framers of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." I take it that these words were intended to be more than merely mouth-filling and ear-tingling phrases. And I take it as the sign of a deep malady in our contemporary life, to which I should like to turn our attention tonight, that many of us would be inclined to grant, if challenged to defend what Jefferson called self-evident truths, that these words cannot be taken literally, but must be regarded as the kind of rhetorical flag which a political party always waves over the position it wishes to occupy.

To say that Jefferson meant what he said in calling these propositions about the equality of man self-evident truths and that

he was here speaking not for himself alone but for the majority of his fellow citizens, on whose behalf the declaration of our independence from Great Britain was written, is not to say that the Founding Fathers were unanimous in their political philosophies. They were divided by deep religious differences—Protestant, Catholic, and the anti-clerical and anti-ecclesiastical Deist. There were deep philosophical differences among them as respects the nature of man, whether primarily good or evil, whether or not possessed of freedom of will. There were, furthermore, sharp differences of interests, especially those which set the agrarian sections of the country in opposition to the mercantilist areas. In the framing of our Constitution, these differences created such serious difficulties that as one member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789 put it, representatives of the various states were often held together in their discussions by "a hair" and the dissolution of the Convention and the consequent collapse of its work were an almost daily expectation.

We are the inheritors not only of the tremendous positive benefits of the American form of government and of the enunciation of principles which justify and govern its operation, but also of the conflicts of interests and ideas in Colonial America. It is my thesis tonight that some of the difficulties we have inherited threaten now, perhaps even more seriously than they did in the eighteenth century, the healthy continuation of the way of life and government which has been developed in America.

The difficulties presented by the religious and philosophical diversity of the eighteenth century and by the sharp clash of the interest groups then affecting political life were resolved by two important means when our Constitution was framed. The first of these was the wise recognition by the Founding Fathers that agreements concerning courses of action might be reached by people holding quite different theoretical positions. The second was the confidence of our political forebears in the effectiveness of sustained, rational discussion among people who disagree.

Our Constitution would never have been formulated if its framers had insisted upon complete unanimity in a philosophy of government as a prerequisite to agreement about the nature of the political institutions and the modes of operations of these institutions for the country. The Constitutional Convention focused attention, therefore, upon the structure of government and upon the rules of its operation. Thus men who held different views about the proper relationships of agriculture and industry, about the loyalty to state governments as over against loyalty to a national one, and even about the political status of the Negro were able, despite these differences, to agree upon a government of three branches, on the modes of election or appointment of officers in these various branches, on the terms of office in each case, on the spheres of authority of the executive, judicial, and legislative arms of government, and on the scopes of authority of state and national governmental institutions. The concentration of the Founding Fathers upon the form and operation of government has given this country the incalculable benefit of an instrument to preserve peace without requiring absolute unanimity or conformity in the areas of ideas and thought.

We are so accustomed to the situation we have inherited from our eighteenth-century framers of government that we tend to forget how amazing their achievement was. Its results are to be seen in every presidential election. Two parties which through the campaign have seemed bitterly opposed at the level of ideas—two massive groups ardently convinced of the rightness of their position, each viewing with alarm the ideas of its opponents, and pushing its candidates as though the life of the country depended upon their election—will, when the machinery of the election has completed its operation, unite peacefully under the leadership of the winner. The losing candidate does not muster his supporters for a revolution. Instead he sends a telegram of congratulations and assurances of support to his successful opponent. And the winning candidate feels no need to protect himself by literal or

figurative execution of his opponents. We have, in short, learned that men who disagree strongly on very important questions can live together in peace. I shall want in a moment to come to certain hazards in this arrangement, which I merely mention here; namely, the tolerance of differences of opinion may lead to indifference about ideas and thus in a subtle way undermine the principles which constitute the foundations of our political society.

The second resource, as the Founding Fathers saw it, for handling disagreements without concentration camps or thought control was freedom of discussion. Freedom of discussion in America rested not upon contempt for ideas but upon confidence in the power of ideas. In his great pronouncement of freedom of speech, the *Areopagitica*, John Milton took a position to which eighteenth-century leaders of American thought came to adhere and he put the case in words which have been reiterated through the centuries: "So long as truth be in the field," he said, "we do her injustice in suppressing freedom of expression." What Milton and later our forefathers had in mind was not that in the din of conflicting opinions truth would by some magic speak in the clearest and loudest voice, but rather that in sustained and systematic discussion of opposing points of view, error would be discovered and truth would emerge and be consolidated. As they saw it, the advancement of truth by free discussion of ideas was not an automatic or even an easy process. They had no confidence, I am sure, that in the mere announcement of conflicting propositions those which were true would at a glance seem obviously right. They placed their confidence in rational discourse—in the rigorous statement not merely of conclusions but of premises and connections of thought. In this process, the partial errors of half truths would to some extent be pruned away, inadequate statements of truth would be reshaped to bring words and ideas into some greater harmony with the real nature of things, and contradictions and inconsistencies would be resolved in slow and painful steps toward truth.

One of our gravest dangers today—perhaps the most serious that our democracy faces—is the increase of doubts about the effectiveness of reasoned and reasonable discourse—doubts, indeed, that the kind of progress toward truth on which the best tradition of Western culture placed its confidence can be truly realized.

Now the roots of these doubts lie, as I see it, as firmly in the soil of the eighteenth century as do the roots of our government and the principles of which it is the flower. Our doubts are as firmly rooted in the eighteenth century as our beliefs. I should like to uncover three roots of our doubts about reasoned discourse in the hope that the examination of them may suggest how our confidence in such discourse may be recovered. For unless we can recover that confidence and learn to act upon it effectively, we must resign ourselves to the effects of propaganda and ultimately of physical force. If reasoned and reasonable thought and discourse are repudiated, or disdained, or neglected, they will inevitably be replaced by emotion and propaganda, and eventually the conflict of emotion and propaganda must be resolved by physical violence. Each of the early sources of our distrust of reasoned discourse was originally an aspect of a theory of the role of reason in human affairs, and out of three views of that role and the strains of thought in America of which they were parts, a formidable cluster of distrust of rational discourse has been formed.

One of these strains in American thought is exemplified in the works of Tom Paine whose pronouncements in favor of separation from the mother country were perhaps the most important single incitement of the Revolution. As even John Adams who had no sympathy with Paine's religious position and very little for his political theories put it, Tom Paine's *Common Sense* made the bells of the thirteen colonies ring together. Tom Paine's position was a simple and persuasive one. He appealed to common sense, meaning not what we generally designate by the term,

namely, the practical ideas of practical people, but rather those general ideas of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, which are common to all men—even, as he put it, to those of the meanest capacities. A typical appeal to common sense in Paine's use of the term is his argument that government must either rise out of the people or be imposed upon the people, that imposition of rule upon people is tyranny, and that consequently all governments not established by the consent of the governed are usurpations. Such reflections as these were possible, as he saw it, to all men, learned and unlearned, experienced or inexperienced, possessors of high intellectual gifts and those of the most limited capacities. They required, furthermore, no knowledge of tradition and rested on no appeal to historical experience. Tradition, as Paine saw it, was simply a formula to cover the injustices which the ambition and greed of powerful men had brought into the world. Tradition had better be forgotten. History was the painful record of man's injustices to man. It should not be consulted as a guide to the formation of political institutions. We must, Paine wrote in one of his pamphlets, "think as though we were the first men who ever thought."

What Paine and the many who agreed with him, at least in his political theory, introduced into American thought was, then, a contempt for tradition and history. Attacking Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, he decried the appeal to historical precedent. Those who examine such precedents, he said, trace a course backward from error to error and end in utter confusion. They are fortunate if they do not end in utter wickedness. The notion that the ways of life mankind has painfully worked out might with profit be examined by us now, and that words of earnest and thoughtful men reflecting upon these matters might merit our study, Paine dismissed with contempt.

A second amputation of the range of reasoned discourse may be illustrated from the writings of so great a man as Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was impatient with Paine's appeal to general

abstract principles. For him, the soundest lessons are those of experience and history. The argument that taxation without representation was tyranny left him relatively cold. He preferred to consult the more practical oracles of experience. Thus he found no serious objection to the Stamp Tax when it was first proposed. He argued for the right of Colonial legislatures to fix taxes on the ground that when people have to bear burdens, experience indicates they bear them more cheerfully when these burdens are, or the people think they are, imposed on them by themselves. Franklin's confidence in the lessons of history is illustrated in the plans he drew up for the curriculum of a new academy he was instrumental in forming in Philadelphia. The core of the curriculum was instruction in history. Ethics, citizenship, and even the importance of religion were to be conveyed through the channels of instruction in history.

In short, Franklin's position was the antithesis of Tom Paine's. Distrusting the generalizations of abstract thought, he placed his confidence on the particulars of experience or of history. In this respect he was in harmony with the spirit of the developing new sciences of the century. In the political sphere where experimentation is impossible equivalent progress toward truth might be made through the analysis of historical experience. The consequence of such thinking was a dramatic reversal with respect to what might be taken as demonstrably true.

This reversal may be seen by comparing the position which so skeptical a philosopher as Hume took with the position we commonly take today. Hume pointed out that experience, and this would include the lessons of history, can at best establish a high degree of probability. That matters have proceeded in a particular pattern time and again makes it highly likely that they will so proceed in the future. But it makes it only highly likely or highly probable. On the other hand, the analysis of abstract ideas may give absolute demonstration. For example, that two sides of a triangle must always in their combined length be great-

er than the third side, or that a part must always be less than the whole of which it is a part—these are absolute and incontrovertible truths. The mind cannot even conceive the contrary of these propositions. The lines of reasoning in which they emerge must thus constitute absolute demonstration. But the proposition that the sun will rise tomorrow morning, which is based upon our experience of many such risings in the past, can be at best only probable, though highly probable indeed. The mind can conceive of the failure of the sun to rise. Now in this point of view abstract reasoning produces absolute demonstration, while the most careful experimentation and the shrewdest analysis of history can indicate only the probable. Compare this with our own view of these matters. We tend to suppose that general and abstract propositions are mere opinions and that science gives us the highest of certainties. We owe this point of view in no small measure to those men of the eighteenth century who like Franklin placed little confidence in abstract generalizations but gave wholehearted assent to the conclusions reached from the particulars of experience or of observation or of history.

A third strain of eighteenth-century thinking seems to bear upon the accumulation of doubts about reason and rational discourse which underlie the anti-intellectualism of our time. This strain is best exemplified perhaps in such religious writers as the Puritans Thomas Shepard and Jonathan Edwards. What troubled Shepard and Edwards was the fact that men who seem fully aware intellectually of the evils of sin and the dangers of eternal damnation nevertheless persevered in their wicked courses. They explained this fact by distinguishing between two kinds of ideas—notional ideas and real ideas. Thomas Shepard illustrated the point by describing the difference of our reaction to the sight of a lion painted on the wall and represented in the act of leaping toward us with foaming jaws, as contrasted with our reaction to a real lion. In the one case, he pointed out, though we see the details of the lion clearly, our feelings are not involved. In the other, we

are deeply disturbed in our emotions. Now, the tendency of this line of thinking is to conclude that it is the emotional element in thought rather than its clarity or precision, its logical cogency and conclusiveness, which is most significant. A man is saved, according to Edwards, not because he entertains true ideas, for even the devil knows the truth, but because he has acquired what Edwards called "a relish" for the truth. Putting it another way, Edwards insisted that truth must be not merely a possession of the mind but a state of the soul. In God's Elect the whole being, not merely the intellectual faculties, is involved.

It is but a step, not a very long one, from this view to the position that it is not ideas but feelings or attitudes which matter. If the theological commitments of the position are stripped away, the position becomes very modern indeed. I need only, I think, appeal to your own observations and reflections to establish the length to which dependence upon feeling, emotion, or attitude takes precedence in our time over dependence upon the processes of reasoned thought.

Tom Paine was confident of the processes of abstract thought and contemptuous of tradition and history. Franklin was confident of the illumination experience in history could provide and contemptuous of abstract generalizations. Men like Shepard and Edwards opened the way at least to contempt for both abstract thinking and the analysis of history and experience and to the placing of dependence upon right feelings, right emotions, right attitudes, in short, upon something other than the processes of thought. One way of stating our present difficulties about reasonable and reasoned attempts to resolve political and philosophical questions is to suggest that we suffer from the accumulation of the negatives of these strains of our tradition. We accept disdain for abstract thought, which we see not as demonstrative reasoning but as personal opinion or whim. We accept contempt for historical precedents, which in our assurance about progress we accept as naive or corrupt aspects of an outworn past. We accept

judgments of the futility of reason giving weight instead to attitudes and interests and counting upon advertising and public relations operating in an atmosphere of conformity to produce consensus.

Abstract thought and the principles emerging from it can easily be dismissed as personal opinion or prejudice. If we turn from these uncertain foundations to the collection of data from experience or from history, we are troubled by the reflection that the selection and ordering of these data may be the result only of the particular attitudes or feelings or prejudices we entertain. Our attitudes and feelings, moreover, seem to be merely expressions of our early conditioning or of our special economic or social interests. In short, there seems to be no way in which anything generally conclusive can be grasped. What appears to be so, whether as a result of abstract thought or of application to experience, may be merely an accident of our emotional history or a product of our emotional state.

The processes of discussion, then, involve merely the exchange of opinion or the clash of prejudices and interests. Agreement, consensus, and concurrence in action can be achieved only by propaganda devices, and since the differences of propagandists cannot ultimately be resolved, agreement can be reached only by gaining control of the instruments of propaganda. The only ways to accomplish this is by super propaganda or physical violence.

Consequences of these developments are everywhere evident. They may be seen in the curricula of educational institutions. They are all too manifest in the behavior of political parties and of ambitious politicians. They deeply affect our religious life.

The state of mind I have been describing accounts, I believe, in large part for the confusion and anxiety of our times. Lacking confidence in the tradition of reasoned discourse on which our political institutions and, indeed, our whole way of life was founded, we view the future with uncertainty and foreboding.

If I am at all right in this analysis, the road to the recovery of

health, not only for America but for Western civilization, seems clear. We need to think as hard and deeply as we can. We need rigorous, systematic, and sustained discussion of the basic issues of our time. We need to clarify our general ideas, to arrange them systematically, and to eliminate as far as possible the contradictions we entertain. We need to study our traditions and reexamine history as carefully as we can. We may be confident, I believe, that hard and persistent thought will establish confidence in the products of reason and that full and free discussion will lead us step by step into at least approximations of truth about the nature of things. The truths which may emerge will surely be more than merely notional ideas. They will establish a fixed residence not only in the mind but in the soul, and so established will be inextricably connected with our emotions and our wills.

This road to recovery is not an easy one. It is stony and difficult and uphill. But it does lead upward. Granting that it will not be easy, I can only conclude by saying that the excellence of democracy is not that it is the easiest way of life, but that it is incomparably the best.

Chancellor Emeritus William P. Tolley receives the *Post-Standard* Award for Outstanding Service to the Syracuse University Libraries from Mr. J. Leonard Gorman, Executive Editor, *Syracuse Post-Standard*

News of the Library and Library Associates

Annual Meeting and Luncheon, May 14, 1976

The trustees of Library Associates met to review activities of the year 1975-76 and to suggest action for the coming year. The treasurer, Mr. Henry Bannister, reported that $4900.00 had been spent on acquisitions for the Syracuse University Libraries (as noted in *The Courier,* Vol. XII, 4) and that $5000.00 had been used to start a library endowment fund. These two gifts were the result of donations to the Special Acquisitions Fund Drive in 1974-75. About $1200.00 remains in that fund.

The Antiquarian Book Auction earned Library Associates another $5000.00 for the libraries. The trustees designated two-thirds of that sum for the endowment fund, the remainder to be used for acquisitions much needed this year by the libraries.

Mr. and Mrs. Sid Wechter are responsible for planning the auction and carrying it through to ultimate success. Many members and friends donated auction items and/or their time, especially Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Gantter, Mr. and Mrs. Onesime Piette, Mr. and Mrs. Steven Resnick, Mrs. Philip Holstein, Mrs. Roscoe Martin, Mrs. Albert Wertheimer, and Mrs. J. H. Auchincloss. The auctioneers who gave their time were Dr. Benjamin J. Lake, and Dr. Leslie Poste.

Special assistance was given by Chancellor Melvin Eggers who auctioned five items, and Dr. Isaac Asimov who donated three of his specially printed works to the auction and autographed them for those who bought them.

At least one member, Mr. Lawrence Reeves, came all the way from New York City with his wife to participate in the bidding.

Mr. Wechter, Auction Committee chairman, recommended that the auction be held again next year in conjunction with a book fair. This possibility will be explored.

For the time, the effort, the contribution toward the expenses of the auction, and the items to be auctioned that Mr. Wechter personally gave, Library Associates' is indebted and grateful. That he is willing to chair the auction committee in 1977 should inspire the membership to support the auction with equal energy.

At the luncheon Dr. Benjamin J. Lake spoke on "Portraiture in Porcelain." The presentation with slides depicted pieces from Dr. Lake's collection of English pottery and porcelain from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, including some of those which Dr. and Mrs. Lake have given to the Everson Museum in Syracuse. An informative introduction briefly explained the technique of ceramic modelling, coloring and glazing and mentioned the major artisans and popular subjects of the period.

A folder showing the coat-of-arms of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, and presenting a page from his *Philobiblon* was given to each person at the luncheon. The selection from "On the utility and necessity of grammar" was the gift of Mr. Henry Bannister who designed the handsome folio and did the calligraphy which was reproduced in black with hand-colored initials in red.

Post-Standard Award

The *Post-Standard* Award for Outstanding Service to the Syracuse University Libraries for 1975 was presented at the luncheon to Chancellor Emeritus William Pearson Tolley. Mr. Leonard Gorman read the following citation:

"An undergraduate at Syracuse University, later its distinguished Chancellor for more than a quarter of a century, and now among the most active and loyal of its emeriti, Dr. Tolley has been for more than five decades a wise user and great friend of the university library.

"Because he has known how vital involvement with books is to the life of the mind and how crucial libraries are to sustaining the 'transcendent aims' of civilization, he has nurtured the growth of this library. Over the years his vision of the central role of the library in the endless adventure of teaching and learning has contributed mightily to the enrichment of the collections and the staff, and to the fine new Bird Library building.

"As a bookman Dr. Tolley has been the best sort of friend to the library. Through his extensive gifts he has left his stamp on the special collections of the George Arents Research Library. A rich collection of histories of European universities, gathered over many years, shelves of Kipling, and a splendid leaf from a Gutenberg Bible, at once a thing of beauty and a vital teaching tool, are but a few of his gifts.

"His own enthusiasm for the world of books is infectious. A founder of the Library Associates, and an early sponsor of *The Courier,* it is good but not surprising to see him so often at the library, reading, learning, writing, talking, and teaching all of us, through his example, the values of great libraries."

Those who have been most active in Library Associates since it was founded in 1953 know that Dr. Tolley's contribution to Library Associates exceeds their power to adequately express their gratitude.

New Trustees

New trustees have joined the Board. Appointed to fill vacancies in the Class of 1977 were Dr. Arthur A. Ecker, Mrs. Robert C. Hosmer, and Mr. Richard Wilson. Mr. Wilson, director of the News Bureau at Syracuse University, is Publicity and Public Relations Committee chairman.

Dr. Allen Best has been elected to the new Class of 1979. One vacancy remains in that Class since nine of its members agreed to remain on the Board of Trustees for another three-year term. (See inside back cover, this issue.)

Dr. Best retired May 1, 1976, after nearly fourteen years in the Syracuse University Office of University Relations. He has directed development programs over the years in foundation support, church relations, parents' programs, and special programs for the Second Century capital fund campaign. Dr. Best has been particularly helpful to Library Associates through the Joint Finance and Development Committee during the Special Acquisitions Fund Drive and subsequent establishment of the Endowment Fund.

Dr. Best has assumed a new position as director of development and community relations for another organization. We are glad he will continue his interest in Library Associates.

Krasners Move to Boston

Emeritus Professor and Mrs. Louis Krasner have moved to Boston after having been for twenty-five years leading participants in the Syracuse musical scene. They are making the change to be near their two daughters and grandchildren.

Mrs. Krasner has been principal violinist, second section, of the Syracuse Symphony Orchestra since its forming. Professor Krasner had a distinguished career as a concert violinist, was for a time with the Syracuse Symphony Orchestra, and taught at the Syracuse University School of Music until his retirement in 1971. He founded the Syracuse Friends of Chamber Music which has become successful enough to present six or seven concerts per season at Syracuse University's Crouse College featuring outstanding chamber groups.

A member of Library Associates for many years, Professor Krasner has spoken about his collection of musical rarities and memorabilia to our membership.

Their Syracuse friends wish the Krasners well in their new home.

A Very Special Award

Sarah Knapp Auchincloss has received the "Award for Meritorious Community Service" for a person who has contributed to the community without publicity or widespread acclaim from the Thursday Morning Roundtable, University College, Syracuse University.

Dean Lee Smith noted that Mrs. Auchincloss "has cared most about and has fought the good fight against injustice, inequality, poverty, and discrimination."

Mrs. Auchincloss has been a trustee of Library Associates and served as membership and program chairman. She was one of the major forces to inspire a revitalized Library Associates organization in the last several years.

The Thursday Morning Roundtable is an expression of Syracuse University's commitment to apply its resources to the improvement of community life through education for public leadership. In the past ten years it has become a major channel of communication for civic leadership in the Syracuse metropolitan area and a catalyst for community activity.

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